1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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sionally money is borrowed from a fellow Araucanian with the agreement, usually, that wheat may be substituted in repayment. 426

A 39-year-old Alepúe man had been told that his father's grandfather and the grandfather's brother, when they were young men, had spent 5 years in Argentina earning money by catching fiandú (emu) and plucking their large feathers, which were in demand for European markets and brought a good price. They caught the fiandú with a boleodora. "It was thrown something like a lasso is thrown today. The bird, by a twist of its head, tried to get away, but in doing so wound the rope around its neck. They also earned money by selling wool they sheared off guanacos, a wild sheeplike animal, and by herding sheep for Argentine owners. For herding sheep, they were paid with half of the newborn lambs. Some Mapuche married in Argentina, and never returned to Chile. Others returned with the money they had earned and bought up land. From then on they were the rich men among the Mapuche." 464

Alepúe children to whom I had given pesos for stories they wrote, for specimens of plants they collected, for running errands, and for being helpful in other ways, were asked by their teacher the following week how they had spent their money. One of the boys had given it to his mother to buy sugar; another had cleared a debt he owed the teacher for a notebook and a pencil; two had bought for themselves a bottle of pop at a fiesta; another had given his to an older brother who bought himself cigarettes with it. One of the girls had bought a handkerchief; another, candy; still another added hers to the money that she was saving to buy a dress. "A child is expected to earn money for its own clothing," noted their teacher. "Girls spin wool which the father then sells and uses the money to buy their clothes."

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

COOKERY, IMPLEMENTS, FOOD, MEALS

Foods are eaten uncooked, boiled, roasted, and baked. Cooking today, as formerly, is done over a fire maintained in a shallow hollow in the earth floor of the ruka, or in the ground, if cooking is done outdoors, as it usually is when the weather permits. On two sides of the fireplace, usually at right angles, level with the floor or ground, stones are laid. A few of these are large flat ones that serve as a table for the cook, and also as a place on which to keep food warm. The stones about the fireplace serve as heaters when the fire is only smoldering—"it feels comfortable to sit near one on a cold, damp day." The location of the fireplace in the ruka is between the door 252 354

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and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shaped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; ratonera (pl. 54, *1*) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with stout voqui (pl. 54, *2*). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots earthward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Cofiaripe man explained the building of the split-log roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche learned these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split, hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging to the father. Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth As well

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Baking bread (Trumpal): 1, An improvised bake oven—an oil drum. 2, A loaf of bread baked in the oven.

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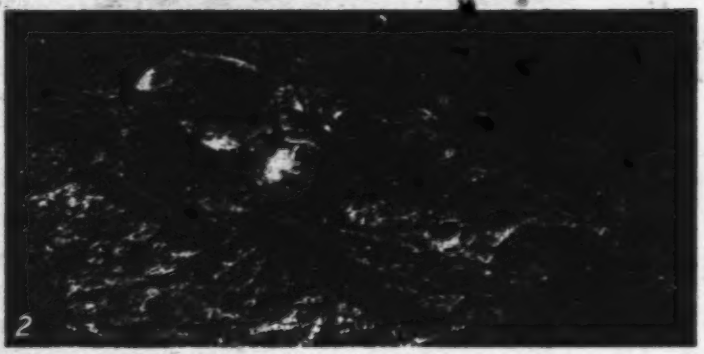

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1, Carrying home a pail of water gotten at the spring in the shaded area to the girl's left (Pilpil). 2, Water being boiled over an open fireplace inside the dwelling (Quilaquina). 3, Araucaria pines from cones of which seeds, a staple food, are obtained. Umbrella-shaped ones are cone-bearing; others are too young to bear. (Lago Lolog.)

[p. 316(E)]

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cups for use at the ŋillatun (1952): some were 6-inch-high mug-shaped ones, some were 4-inch-high cup-shaped ones with a handle each, and some were lily-shaped ones without handles. 415

The pichaña was used in scooping apples from their peelings. One from Malleo (specimen No. 5, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanín) made of bone is 5 inches long, 1 inch wide, and approximately ½ inch thick.

Baskets were of three types: the rəni, the kŭlko (pl. 74, *4*), and the kolkupiu. All three were used for carrying; the rəni and kŭlko, as sieves also; the kolkupiu, for storage also. The small round seeds of quinoa were sifted from coarse chaff through the rəni; wheat is so sifted today. Hot sand used in toasting wheat was sifted from the wheat through the kŭlko. Wheat was winnowed on a ulepol, a basketry winnowing tray. 415 235

Traditional implements are in use today; and so are factory-made ones, such as plates, cups, knives, forks, spoons, cooking utensils. Improvised utensils, such as tin cans to which wire handles were attached, were frequently seen (pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*). 415

In the early days cooking was done over a fire in a shallow pit toward the front of the toldo. Smoke was emitted through an opening in the roof of the toldo directly over the fireplace. When weather permitted, cooking was done over an open pit outdoors. At present cooking is more often done on worn-down second-hand factory-made kitchen stoves, on heater stoves, or on improvised stoves made from oil drums. One man had made a stove by setting up two walls of brick about 4 feet apart and 18 inches high and putting over these a metal sheet; the front of the fireplace was left open. Today smoke is emitted between boards of walls and roof nearest the stove, or through a stovepipe led through a nearby wall, or occasionally through the roof. In rare instances a chimney is built of adobe brick. (Pls. 63, *1*; 65, *1*; 66, *2*.) 252 354

A woman in Trumpul baked bread in an oil drum set in upright position (pl. 71, *1*). The lower half of the drum was filled with sand. Pieces of tin rested on the sand and also across the opening of the drum. The space between these two pieces of tin was the oven. The woman built a fire on the windward side of the drum, and when it had burned down to glowing embers, she tested the heat of the oven with her hand. Finding it sufficiently hot, she placed a loaf of dough on the tin within the drum, replenished the embers with wood, and built a fire on the tin cover also. By the time both fires were burned to ashes, the bread was baked.

Open-pit fireplaces (pl. 72, *2*) that I saw (they were said to be 354

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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 372 The most desirable firewoods are ñire and chacay because they give much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *a*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion